1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

right of her clansmen and more specifically her sons (in consultation with her own wishes) to arrange her remarriage became restored as a sort of residual or reanimated right. Moreover, as we shall see, it was in line with their own political interests for the sons to insist on exercising such a right.

Naming Rules

Such a way of integrating the two forms of marriage is supported by the Tiwi rules for naming children, which are very relevant to the issue. We mentioned earlier that the right to bestow a daughter was vested, strictly speaking, not in the actual father, but in the man who named her. Personal names were important in the Tiwi value system[8] and were given to every child a few weeks after its birth by its father or the man currently married to its mother. But whenever a husband died and the widows remarried, all the personal names given to their children by the dead man became strictly taboo, and the new husbands of the widows had the duty (or right) of providing all the children with new names. Since most women were widowed several times in their lives, most children were thus renamed several times in *their* lives, and the names given them by the earlier husbands of their mother dropped completely out of use.[9] Logically under this system nobody would get a permanent name until his or her mother was dead, since as long as she were alive she would remarry and her new husband would rename all her children, no matter how aged they might be. The Tiwi insisted that logically this was how the naming system was supposed to work, and, in fact, the personal names of even prominent senior men did become taboo whenever their mothers' current husbands died. But convenience proved stronger than logic and the personal names of most men and women became well established in their early adulthood as people became used to them. While such names did become taboo when the man who had given them died, the taboo in such cases was temporary rather than permanent, and after a decent interval the name would creep back into use replacing some new and unfamiliar one which might be bestowed by the widow's new husband. In general, the name which thus became permanently or irrevocably attached to a person was the name which a person held when he or she first emerged into tribal prominence or first began to get talked about. For a male, this was most usually the name he was bearing in his late twenties and early thirties; for a female, the name she was known by in her early adolescence when she first left her father's household to take up residence with her earliest husband.

That convenience thus overbore logic in the Tiwi naming system by

[8] See Hart 1931.

[9] It can easily be seen what headaches this naming system created for an anthropologist trying to collect genealogies. Individuals would occur in one genealogy under one name and in another under another name, making the task of cross-indexing and cross-checking enormously difficult.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

3

The Prestige and Influence System

TO BECOME a really big man, or even a minor figure among the elders, a Tiwi had to devote all his adult life to that goal. Careers were built up and influential positions gained not by executing spectacular coups at any one time, but by slow, devious maneuvering and dealing in influence throughout adulthood. Men in their early thirties invested their very small assets in the hope of large returns twenty years later, and if the anthropologist witnessed the initial investment he was not around to witness the final return; or if he witnessed the return he found it difficult to reconstruct all the relevant details of the initial investment. A man in 1928 bestowed his daughter in a certain direction because of some deal back in 1900, arranged by men many of whom were now dead. And the bestowal in 1928 was done in such a way as to bind the hands of men negotiating in 1960, some of whom were infants in 1928.[1]

The Tiwi influence and career patterns can best be compared to a sort of nonstop bridge game wherein the scores were never totaled up nor a new game ever started on a clean slate.[2] Whenever an observer came in, he always

[1] A typical illustration of this situation arose during the writing of this book. In 1928-29 Hart had observed Padimo beginning to acquire a number of bestowed wives. Being interested in the status of Padimo twenty-five years later, he included Padimo in a list of inquiries to Pilling. Pilling's reply: "Re Padimo. I am almost certain that he was the 'Paddy' who died leaving several widows, in February, 1953, about three months before I got to the Islands. The natives did not like to talk much about him while I was there (because of the taboo on dead men's names) and his widows were still being fought over. The fights over his widows did not end until the week I left (if they really did then)." Thus the deals which Hart saw in 1928-29 were having delayed repercussions when Pilling was there in 1953-54.

[2] We use bridge rather than poker as our analogy because nobody ever "went broke" in Tiwi influence competition and nobody ever "won the pot," because there was no pot to win. The scoring was always, so to speak, on a comparative basis and everybody, even the most unsuccessful man, had some score relative to his competitors.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Although, in the interpretation of the paintings on this basket, gathered in the early days of the expedition, the designs were not given topographical meanings, there is little doubt that fuller inquiries would have shown that the designs and the topography were linked.

On Pl. 8c, D, *e*, pictures the body of the turtle-woman, *a*, *a*, being the front flippers, *d*, *d*, the hind flippers, *b*, the carapace, *g*, the head, and *c*, *c*, *c*, etc., the bones of the creature; the dotted background, *f*, represents the marks on the tortoise-shell of the carapace.

The Sun-woman, Wuriupranala, at Wuriupi

Every morning, the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*,[29] climbs a high mountain in the east, and, carrying her blazing torch of bark, travels across the sky, parallel to the earth. Sometimes, the sun-woman, to please her husband, powders her body with red ochre, the dust of which, flying into the sky, reddens the early morning clouds.

On reaching the western horizon the sun-woman extinguishes her bark torch, and, by the light from its glowing end, finds her way back to the east through the underground world, Ilara.[30] But, before setting out on that journey, *Wuriupranala* again decorates herself with powdered ochres thereby colouring both the western sky and the clouds.

Nine bark paintings, i.e. Pls. 5A, B, C, D, 6A, B, 7B, C, D, illustrate the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*, and the topography of Wuriupi. The remainder of the paintings dealing with the sun are described under Astronomy, Chapter 7.

Pl. 5A is a painting on a small bark basket, which deals with the myth of the sun-woman, *Wuriupranala*.

The circle in the centre of each disc, of which there are sixteen, symbolises the sun-woman, the radiating lines being the rays of light at sunrise and sunset. The three wide vertical bands represent the track of the sun-woman as she moves across the sky, and the lines, linking the discs, the path in the underground world, Ilara, along which *Wuriupranala* returns to the east. The cross-hatched areas are rain, the dots, stars (*tapalinga*), and the short parallel lines, top and bottom, rain falling from the clouds.

The central dot on Pl. 5B, is the "eye" of the sun-woman seated in her paper-bark hut (the inner circle). The five radiating lines within the circle are the posts of her hut, the cross-hatching is her hair, and the five outer concentric circles are her hair-string belts.

[29] In one bark painting, Pl. 6oA, B, *Wuriupranala* and *Murupiangkala* alternately travel across the sky. This is the only time that *Murupiangkala* was referred to as a sun-woman.
[30] The moon returns to the east by a similar road.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

the background is the sea. The white central transverse panel is the beach at Wulrungku.

The meaning of the designs on the lower panel are similar, the black central and branching lines representing the tracks made by the *Pitipituis* as they travel to and from their camps (the black discs); the encircling lines represent the sand around those camps, and the painted background, the jungle which shelters the little people.

3. THE PARAMANUAS[48]

The *Paramanuas* are short, particularly active, agile men, about three feet high, with thick, powerful limbs, tusk-like teeth, and projecting toe and finger nails.

In general, except for these details, they resemble the aborigines in appearance, eat the same foods and follow a similar way of life.

They live in many places throughout Melville and Bathurst Islands, but no one except those captured by the *Paramanuas*, has seen either them or their homes. As they dislike being talked about, and often make those people ill who do so, I found it somewhat difficult to gather information about the *Paramanuas*.

The homes of the *Paramanuas*, their wives and their children, are spacious underground caves, the entrances to which are openings either in the side of termite mounds, or hollow trees. In these caves, the men store their utensils, weapons and food (Fig. 14). Their cooking fire, like that of the aborigines, is always outside of their camp.

Occasionally a *Paramanua*, wishing to befriend an aboriginal, will watch him for some time. Then one day when the aboriginal is hunting by himself, the *Paramanua* will cast a spear at him. But, before the spear has reached its mark, the *Paramanua* will have caught it and, standing at the back of the aboriginal, will be tickling his ribs. The aboriginal, thoroughly scared, turns to strike his opponent, only to find him again at his back. This game goes on until the aboriginal is exhausted, dizzy and confused. Then hitting him on the side of the head with an open hand, rendering the aboriginal unconscious, the spirit man picks up the prostrate man and carries him to the underground home of the *Paramanuas*.

Awaking to find himself in a dark place, the aboriginal is terrified, but on receiving plenty of food from the *Paramanuas*, and treated with every kindness, the aboriginal loses all fear, and as the weeks go by, all sense of time.

[48] Harney and Elkin, 1942, p. 232, refer to these little people as Barminuar.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Juwuku; while the sun-woman, the men of the Milky Way, the star women and the moon-man (except for a short period each month) travel daily across its surface. 772 776 821

Above the sky is another world, Tuniruna. This is the day-time home of numberless star women, the *Tapalinga*, and the men of the Milky Way, the *Maludaiuini*. During the dry season, *Pakadringa*, *Tomiuka* and *Bumerali*, with her family leave the sky-world, Juwuku, and make their homes in Tuniruna.

Unlike the Ilara, the lowest world, Tuniruna resembles the earth except that there is no sea, although there are many freshwater streams and swamps. All the creatures and plants that live on Melville Island, with the exception of the saltwater fish, are also at Tuniruna.

Every morning the inhabitants of the upper world leave their camps, the women to gather the plant foods of the forest, the men to hunt and capture the creatures, such as freshwater fish and the geese, ducks, pelicans and jabirus, that live in the extensive swamps. Also, many fruits grow at Tuniruna, some of which were specifically named, i.e., *rukarina*, the wild plum; *tauranina*, the white-fruited eugenia; *kisania*, the red-fruited eugenia; *putukuna*, a small egg-shaped fruit about three-eighths of an inch long; *kwerka*, cycad fruit, and the various yams.

By the time the sun-woman has sunk below the western horizon and extinguished her torch, the inhabitants of Tuniruna, the upper world, have returned from their foodgathering and are lighting their camp-fires to cook the food they have brought in. The light from these fires illuminates the upper world as brightly during the night-time as the sun-woman, with her blazing torch, illuminates the earth during the day-time.

About November, *Pakadringa*, *Tomiuka* and *Bumerali* leave Tuniruna and travel from place to place in the sky-world, shedding rain on the parched earth. During this time, the aborigines claim that those with good hearing can distinguish a low "Sh . . . sh . . .", the pleasure call of the thirsty trees as their roots drink the moisture from the sodden ground. It is then that the trees and plants of the upper world, using the raindrops as a vehicle, send their spirits (analogous to the human *Pitipituis*) (p. 146), to the ground beneath, where they grow into plants similar to their progenitors in the upper world.[1] That is, all the plants and trees in the land of the Tiwi were once, as tiny spirits, dropped from the upper world, Tuniruna. 776 821 [824]

[1] I did not specifically inquire whether the creatures in the upper world also sent down their spirits in the same manner as the plants. However, as both plants and human beings have a spirit origin, it is reasonable to assume that the creatures originate in a similar manner. Further research on this subject will be of considerable interest. [124]

6: Hart E-5 (1928-1930) 1954 0120 Tiwi 0120

all these day-to-day activities of ordinary elementary field work, are, one presumes, based upon some common-sense judgments about the "personalities" of the natives with whom the anthropologist is living in rather intimate association.

Unfortunately the conventions of anthropology are such that it is just this sort of material which is never published and yet it would seem to be precisely this sort of material, if organized and systematized a little, which would throw light upon the amount of individual personality variation and the range of personality types which are to be found in the simpler societies. Too often the old-fashioned anthropologist, asked what he knows about the "personality" of his tribe, is apt to reply rather defensively, "Well, nothing much; you see I didn't pay much attention to toilet training when I was there, nor was I competent to give Rorschachs and T.A.T.'s." If, instead of being intimidated by the question, he would take the trouble to recall the ten natives he knew best (in the sense of knowing that is involved in the everyday statement "I know him pretty well") and attempt to describe briefly the "personality" of each of the ten, he would, one suspects, be astonished not only at how much common-sense knowledge he has of the personalities of the men he is describing but also at the range of difference that they exhibit.

As a crude sample of what would be revealed if the ordinary fieldworking anthropologist would make some attempt at "personality description" along such lines, there is offered in this paper a very superficial and cursory examination of the "personalities"[1] of five Australian aborigines whom the writer believes (perhaps erroneously) he got to know reasonably well *as people*, in the course of field work among the tribe to which they belonged—the Tiwi of Melville and Bathurst Islands, North Australia. One cannot live with any tribe for two years, especially in the very primitive and intimate living conditions of nomadic Australian life, without getting to know certain individuals better than others, and two of the five men in question were not only trusted informants and advisers but also twenty-four-hour-a-day companions for weeks at a time. The basis of selection of these two, Mariano and Tipperary, is that the writer knew them over a long period of time and was able to observe them under a great variety of circumstances.[2] The addition of the other three—Antonio, Louis and Bob—is suggested by the fact that they were brothers or half-brothers of the first two, all five having a common mother, a woman named Bongdadu. The selection of a group of brothers for intensive study is justified in the present context by the self-evident fact that if, as is alleged by the personality and culture adherents, a common culture, with common toilet training, common family conditioning, etc., produces homogeneous personalities in the simpler societies, then such homogeneity of personality should be all the greater in a group of men who not only are products of the same culture but grew up in the same household, and were suckled, reared and toilet-trained by the same mother.

The Tiwi, who numbered 1,062 people in 1928–30, are divided into nine hordes or subtribes scattered over two islands. The southern section of Bathurst

I was told that

765 the old man had chanted about the *Tarula*,[1]
533 who had planted magic on the beaches to
754 the north at the beginning of the wet season.
[648] The sun heated the magic, and up it went like smoke and the wind blew it all about. The magic works on the blackfellow with a feeling like a snake crawling up the legs. It moves up to his stomach, and when it reaches his heart he eats no more and dies. He also sang that he was an old man, his wind was short and soon he would die. Later he sang of a fight he had had with another tribe. Later he sang of people who came and fed him while he was sick. When standing in the water he was calling on the others to make the ceremony. When he threw up the stones he called *wei tua*, i.e "finish."

754 During the next four weeks I visited tribes in various parts of the islands and heard the same story. I was shown a sample of the magic. It was a tightly woven string bag about the size of a billiard ball and stuffed with kapok. This was said to have been "sung" before it was buried.

● 124 Statistics of the mortality of the epidemic
902 presented a problem. The only words for numbers which I could obtain with certainty

[1] The *tarula* were mainland blacks in the employ of local white men. They were called *tarula* ("lightning") after the guns carried by their employers.

Cp 80-A]

124 802 were *yadi*, *irrara*, *irradroma*, *arkwawi* and *inalti*, respectively one, two, three, few and many. Some natives had a vague idea of five and ten. A nominal roll of the dead [551] was impossible, as the names of the dead are *ardjidit*, "unlawful," "taboo." A method was arranged whereby flat sticks were used and notched. Separate sticks were taken for males and for females. A group would sit about and the dead identified by relationship with the living. A big notch in the sticks would be made for each adult, a smaller notch for a child, and a tiny notch for a baby. Records obtained in this way 165 showed that at least 56 men, 87 women, 17 boys, 25 girls and one male and one female infant had died. The population of the islands, before the epidemic, was estimated as a result of general enquiries to be about 650, so the known death roll of 187 indicates a high mortality rate.

The original rumour suggested that the natives were dying of measles, as someone had diagnosed some illnesses at the Mission about Christmas time as measles. The extremely low number of infant deaths was entirely against measles being the cause of the holocaust, and supports the native diagnosis of magic.

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[p. 80-B]

10:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1962 OI20 Tiwi OI20

is desirous of starting his household has inherited the right of arranging his mother's remarriage, he may well enter into a contract involving an exchange of mothers with another youth in a similar position. While a son is accorded this right, I suspect that in many of the cases of mother exchange the real arrangers are the mothers.

Tiwi Kinship Terminology

For the sake of the record, I present herewith the kinship terms which I collected in 1954. It must be understood that my major informants on the classification of kin were women. Although most of the terms were also checked with male informants, through oversight this was not done in a few instances. Although a full discussion of the terminology would perhaps be valuable, limitations of time and space compel me to limit my comments to matters directly pertinent to my discussion of the marriage system. Unless otherwise indicated, all the terms listed are employed by male as well as female speakers.

Sibling Terminology

1 *iwuni:* elder brother. Affinal application: WiSiHu, MoBrDaHu (ws).
2 *iwini:* younger brother. Affinal application: WiSiHu, FaSiDaHu (ms).
3 *imbunga:* elder sister. Affinal application: HuBrWi, MoBrSoWi (ws).
4 *imboka:* younger sister. Affinal application: HuBrWi, FaSiSoWi (ms).
5 *inggalakini:* half brother (see discussion below).
6 *inggalakunga:* half sister (see discussion below).

The regular sibling terms (1 to 4) are differentiated on the basis of sex and relative age, and they are extended on Ego's generation to all parallel cousins, including remote ones. A special set of terms (5 and 6) is restricted to some siblings and parallel cousins. The criterion for their differentiation, as stated by the Tiwi, is that they refer to half siblings by the same father whose mothers belong to different matrisibs. The only parallel cousins to whom they apply, I believe, are first cousins; distant parallel cousins are definitely called by the regular sibling terms (1 to 4) regardless of their sib affiliations.

The terms for full siblings are also extended to certain collateral relatives on the second ascending and descending generations. Thus the distant parallel cousins of MoMo and FaFa are called by the terms for elder sibling, *iwuni* or *imbunga*, and the distant parallel cousins of SoCh (ms), DaCh (ws), SiDaCh (ms), and BrDaCh (ws) are called *iwini* or *imboka* (younger brother or sister).

Cross-cousin Terminology

7 *inkuwi.* Affinal application only: Hu, HuBr, SiHu (ws), WiBr.
8 *inkwa/inga.* Affinal application only: Wi, WiSi, BrWi (ms), HuSi.
9 *mamaniya* (or *mamanini*): MoBrSo (ws), FaSiSo (ws). Affinal application: "Si" Hu (ws). My data are inconclusive as to whether male speakers use this and the following term in the same way.
10 *mamaya:* MoBrDa (ws), FaSiDa (ws). Affinal application: "Br" Wi (ws).